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On the basis of employee surveys and in-plant research, the total cost of discrimination to American business and industry in actual dollars is estimated at roughly $30 billion annually. Discrimination in industry begins at the hiring gate where minority groups are refused employment because of race, color, religion, nationality, political affiliation, or other reason. Within the plant, discrimination is evident in ceilings on advancement opportunities and the prevention of promotion based on merit. Discriminatory practices extend to the foreman and supervisory selection process, employee benefits, lay-off policy, profit-sharing plans, and even to the time allotted for vacation and sick leave. Another form of discrimination within a company is refusal to enforce standards set by law or contract to protect certain groups of workers. Women and children are particularly affected by the violation of work standards.

The psychological, social, and economic costs of industrial discrimination are high—discrimination destroys employee morale, reduces productivity, disrupts foremen-worker relationships, and adversely affects the effectiveness of trade unions. The economic implications of the added revenue and added national income which would result if it were not for discrimination are many. Discrimination represents a blot on the American democratic system which must be removed if the American ideal is to extend to all facets of our society.

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NEGRO INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT: ECONOMIC IMPACT OF SEGREGATION

The Waste in Manpower, Morale and Productivity costs American Industry 30 Billion Dollars a year

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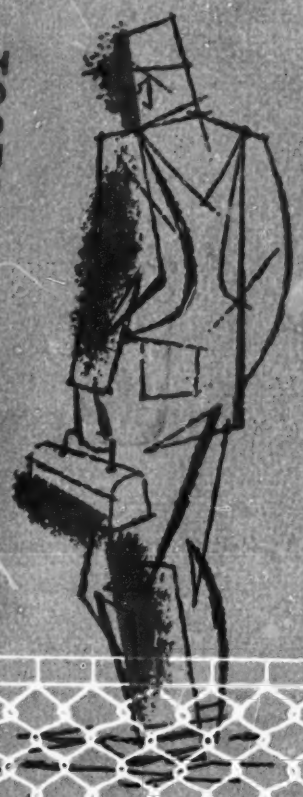

the high cost of discrimination

by ELMO ROPER

Office of Education-EEOP
Bennett U. Education
Research and Materials Branch

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

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About the Author

Elmo Roper is nationally known for his analyses of public opinion, marketing trends, and employee attitudes.

His work for Brotherhood, though not as widely publicized, has been equally important. As a director of Spiegel's he helped inaugurate an employment program which integrated minority groups into the work force of that large mail order establishment. He has been a frequent speaker in behalf of the rights of minorities and is a member of the Civil Rights Commission of the State of Connecticut and has been identified with the activities of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

His conclusions regarding the economic cost to American business of discrimination against minority groups are the result of nationwide employee surveys and research in a wide range of industries.

The high cost of discrimination

The Waste in Manpower, Morale and Productivity Costs American Industry $30 Billion a Year

by **Elmo Roper**

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS and JEWS

Office of Education-EEOP
Research and Materials Branch

FIRST PRINTING 1954
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The High Cost of Discrimination

AS a board member of Spiegel's, the Chicago mail order house, I am proud to say we have no discrimination at Spiegel's and I think almost everyone at Spiegel's is equally proud of that fact.

Needless to say, this didn't just happen. In a state where there was no law compelling us to do so we made it happen.

The interesting thing is, not that Spiegel's did it but that every business in the U.S. can do the same thing—can do it and *profit by it!* For any firm which does not hire on merit and merit alone is not only guilty of injustice but of woeful extravagance as well.

In the research my organization has done over the past 12 years, we have observed first hand the high cost of discrimination. Where discrimination on the job exists the person discriminated against, of course, is painfully hurt. But so, too, is employee morale and productivity. The attitudes of worker to fellow worker and of worker to supervisor deteriorate. And this deterioration inevitably results in higher operating costs and increased turnover. In addition, it can and has led to work stoppages and wildcat strikes.

On the basis of employee surveys and in-plant research, my organization estimates the total cost of discrimination to American business and industry in actual dollars and cents at roughly $30 billion annually.

A thirty billion dollar loss to our economy every year!

Ten dollars out of every $75 paycheck wasted on the phony luxury of indulging in our prejudices!

There Are Many Types of Discrimination

When we talk of discrimination in industry, of course, we are talking of only one facet of a larger problem which exists throughout our society. Discrimination is based most commonly on color (espe-

cially in the case of Negroes), on religion (most notably in the case of Catholics and Jews), on sex (of course, with women), on language (we still have many foreign language groups), on politics (try being a Republican in some parts of South Carolina or a Democrat in some parts of Vermont), on national origin (some still think Anglo-Saxon forebears are superior to South European, for instance), on birth (the silver spoon adage still has too many real life illustrations), on property (and this is true if you happen to come too far from *either* side of the railroad tracks), on economic status (in some places bankers and merchants and certain professional people still move in separate social stratas), on education, and on many other differences.

All of these types of discrimination are practiced by business and industry in one form or another. Naturally, some types of discrimination are more flagrantly practiced than others. Some exist to only a very small extent in some companies; some are consciously fostered in a small number of other companies. Most companies don't actively try to discriminate as a corporate policy. They simply don't do enough to get rid of discriminatory practices they somehow have acquired.

Discrimination Begins at the Hiring Gate

What are some of the concrete evidences of discrimination in certain parts of industry?

First, there is the one we so often hear about: refusal to hire individuals if they happen to come from certain groups. Under this heading, of course, are thousands of firms which won't hire Jews and thousands more which won't hire Negroes. There are also some very large firms which paradoxically point with pride to their fair employment practice of hiring Negroes yet by a "gentleman's agreement" close their doors to Jewish employees.

Still others set up arbitrary quotas for minority groups, often without even the excuse of relating the quota to the ethnic makeup of the labor market.

Then there are a number of firms which hire one or two or half a dozen Jews or Negroes just as "window dressing," just to prove for the record that they don't discriminate. There has been much more of this going on in American industry than most people realize.

Such token lip-service to anti-discrimination, of course, can be potentially more harmful than no hiring of minority group people at all. When employers who engage in this "window dressing" get

away with it, they still know they are discriminating, but think they have found a permanent way to avoid eliminating it.

So the first form of discrimination is at the hiring gate of the plant itself. Some people simply aren't let in.

Discrimination Prevents Promotions on Merit

Within the plant, there are a whole series of discriminatory practices. One is to place a ceiling on advancement opportunities for certain individuals solely because they belong to a particular social or racial group. In the past few years, for example, many strides have been made toward opening the way for Negroes to work in industry in the South. But in plant after plant, Negro employees will be hired only as janitors and once hired, they can never attain a position higher than that of janitor.

Another set of discriminatory practices within the plant consists of arbitrary policy decisions making distinctions between individuals based entirely on race, creed, or color, with respect to job classification and rates of pay. Discrimination can be practiced by merely downgrading a section heavily populated with minority group members. Stemming from this same sort of artificial distinction are discriminatory practices in employee benefits, lay-off policy, in profit-sharing plans and even in the time allotted for vacation and sick leave.

Other discriminatory practices within industry occur in the foremen and supervisory selection process. Obviously, in picking people to lead or handle others, a good many personality and experience factors must be taken into account. But it has been found that indigenous or "natural" leadership usually works out best. Leaders ought to rise from a group like corks rising to the surface. Yet it is amazing how often you will find Negro foremen missing in a plant where there is a sizeable proportion of Negroes, or to take an entirely different case, departments of women who are supervised exclusively by men. This does not mean that some whites ought not supervise Negroes and some men ought not supervise women. But the pattern is too one-sided to be merely coincidental. It is a definite bias and as far as many natural leaders who never get promoted are concerned, it is outright discrimination.

Discrimination Keeps Down Many Capable Executives

The same practices go on to an even greater extent in the training and development of executives in management. Industry has always

been proud of its leaders who have risen from the ranks. But how many more have not risen from the ranks because they belonged to the wrong ethnic group which didn't seem to possess—as a group—the necessary social aplomb?

There are plenty of illustrations of this sort of discrimination. For instance, some eastern-controlled companies seemingly take pains to avoid making local midwestern or southern people plant managers or even assistant plant managers. Or a Harvard-bred industrial relations manager (with broad "a" and all) is assigned to handle the problems in a plant heavily populated with workers of Italian extraction. Again, let me say that I don't mean to discriminate against plant managers in the Midwest or South who come from the East, or against Harvard men. But too often the leadership in a plant or a company is not bred out of the people who are being led.

I would certainly not recommend that plant leadership be entirely limited to local people—for different people with different experiences are needed to make up the leadership of any group, organization or business. But when the people in lower job levels are not developing leaders of their own to share the management with people from other sources, it is usually an indication of some discrimination.

Women Employees Suffer from Discrimination

Another form of discrimination within a company is refusal to enforce standards, either set by law, by contract, or by company policy for certain groups of workers. This form of discrimination particularly applies to women and children.

While the child labor problem exists in only a few concentrated sections and places in the U. S. at the present time, many companies still refuse to enforce standards for women. This particularly applies to night work, overtime hours, piece work, and lunch periods. Sometimes these standards are violated because employers are ignorant of the provisions. But ignorance obviously is no excuse either legally or morally for discrimination. In many instances it is simply a case of chiseling, of management taking advantage of women workers because they have less protection than male laborers, and because they are oftentimes more easily replaceable than men.

Discrimination Affects the Personality of the Individual

Even if some of the illustrations I have given exist only in small proportions while others are pretty abundant, even if in your particu-

lar industry you think you are doing a good job of rooting them out, the stakes in industrial discrimination are very high indeed. For people's work involves at least a third to a half of their entire lives. And when the frustration of discrimination is experienced in a man's job, a whole and permanent part of his personality is eroded. His will and ambition to be useful, to do significant work, his need for stability and security, his full growth into a full human personality are stunted. His development as a citizen is retarded. And when this individual damage is multiplied to literally hundreds of thousands and millions of cases, the toll is a fearful one indeed.

Social science research has given us some clues as to what happens when such in-plant discriminatory practices exist. For instance, discrimination is not only indivisible, but it also never stands still. It is impossible to freeze discriminatory practices. Those who live under a system of discrimination tend to follow the system and thereby learn new prejudices. Or, if they have latent prejudices, they will become bolder about expressing them or will have them more deeply imbedded in their convictions.

In addition, discriminatory practices tend to increase friction and animosities between employees. This is most evident when one minority obviously can rise to only a certain level of advancement. The minority group members harbor deep feelings of resentment that they can't advance because of some circumstances over which they had no control. Members of the majority group tend to use the artificial barrier of discrimination as an excuse for justifying their attaining higher positions, but there is always at least a subconscious gnawing that they might not be where they are if it weren't for this arbitrary crutch of discrimination. Mutual suspicions between groups increase, tension mounts, morale sags and productivity falls off.

Surveys Prove that Discrimination Destroys Morale

Our nationwide surveys have checked the attitudes of a variety of employees under varying conditions in a wide range of industries. Results of these surveys have invariably shown that the psychological cost of discrimination on plant morale takes a high toll, both on relations between workers on the same level and especially in relations between supervisors and the men under them.

Let's see what happens to the attitude of worker toward fellow worker. There is a pretty high correlation between a low state of

morale in a plant and the existence of sniping between employees. When the rank-and-file is divided and is wrangling constantly in a maze of personality clashes, this state of disagreeableness permeates almost every phase of work. Good neighborliness is a necessary element in building and maintaining a high degree of job satisfaction.

Discrimination tends to divide employee against employee. It increases the factionalism which is latent in any group. It almost automatically pits individuals against each other, not because they might not like each other on even personality grounds, but rather because their skin happens to be lighter or darker or their ancestors happened to hail from some supposedly more or less respectable corner of the earth. We have found that the existence of discriminatory practices will accelerate employee disunity, and this in turn will seriously jeopardize plant morale.

Discrimination Reduces Productivity

In addition, we have evidence that discrimination has an adverse effect on productivity. In the animosities which arise out of discriminatory practices, worker attention tends to be diverted from getting the job done to watching and criticizing the other fellow's work.

Employees of one minority who are automatically cut off from performing certain tasks because of their religion, color, or nationality tend to be hyper-critical of the people who are doing the jobs they are barred from. Similarly, those who are in privileged positions due to discrimination often feel the need of keeping members of the group which is discriminated against "in their place." A privileged skilled worker will not do certain menial jobs, and rather than say his rating does not require him to do the work, he'll tend to say that "That's a nigger's job" or "go get some hunky to do it." Such remarks cut deep and in the ensuing tension, the diversion of attention from getting the job done appears to have some serious effects on individual employee productivity.

Discrimination Disrupts Foremen-Worker Relationships

Discrimination also deeply affects the relations between foremen and workers. It is almost inevitable that where you find widespread charges of favoritism, there will also be bad feeling between supervisors and employees under them. Most often this favoritism will take

the form of accusing a foreman of granting promotions, raises, time off, vacations, and other benefits to "his own group." "His own group" will vary from situation to situation.

One Negro worker summed up his feelings when he told our interviewer, "If you ask a question to a foreman he should give you a fair answer and don't fly off the wheel—he shouldn't have the funny idea he can push a fellow around because he's colored." Convinced that his foreman holds his race against him, this employee is suspicious of his immediate boss on almost every other count. He cannot be objective about the supervision he receives.

Or take another case: "I used to think ability paid off. But I had it all wrong. Ability to do the job well doesn't pay off. Ability to belong to the Masonic order does, though." This, of course, is the familiar illustration of the clique, the social group which sets itself up as the ruling group within a plant, which makes almost all other groups feel they are discriminated against. As one worker put it, "There's no discrimination between Catholics and colored people here. They're both discriminated against alike by these foremen."

Naturally the charge of discrimination by foremen will influence a worker's attitude toward higher management of a company, the company itself, and even the product he produces. People tend to generalize out of their own experience. And when they have experienced discrimination in their relations with one representative of the company, they tend to wonder if discriminatory practices aren't the company way of doing things.

The cost of discriminatory practices by supervision can become great, indeed. Proper supervisory education on the dangers of discrimination and periodic checks of the performance of supervision would appear to be sound investments in any industrial relations set-up.

Sometimes it is the foremen who are discriminated *against* by the men under them. Let me give you an example.

One particular company which my organization surveyed was in an area where there is a heavy Italian concentration. A high percentage of the labor force in the plant were Italian, and a fair number of foremen were of the same nationality. Yet our research revealed that non-Italian workers particularly resented having Italian bosses. Part of the trouble was that there was dissatisfaction with most supervision on other counts. But almost invariably when an Italian boss was singled out, the worker doing the critizing mentioned "that Italian foreman of mine," or some similar deprecating use of the supervisor's nationality.

Obviously, such an attitude on the part of the rank-and-file can be as corroding as a similar attitude from those in management.

Discrimination Affects Unionism

Our surveys have also revealed another serious cost which must be charged to discrimination in industry—namely, the high price which trade unionism pays when it aids, abets or condones discriminatory practices in the plant.

Industrial unionism is founded on the principle that each man's stake and voice are as important as every other man's and that by each man uniting with every other, the welfare of everyone can be enhanced When there is second-class citizenship in a plant or a company, one of two things tends to happen within the union; either there is second-class citizenship within the union (such as separate locals or no minority group members on the executive committee) or the minority group members tend to dominate the local, mainly because in their drive for equality, they have the most abundant energies to put out organizationally.

There is nothing wrong *per se* with having minority group members dominate the union if they can win the votes in a democratic election. Discrimination within a plant, however, tends to push local union leadership toward one or the other extreme. And the results can be serious in terms of internecine battling within the union itself.

At least one large union today has a tough factional fight going on in which there are disturbing ethnic overtones. Members are being lined up by nationalities. This will inevitably weaken the union, and in the shuffle the lesson of democratic living which trade unionism could teach so well will be lost. I'd put it even stronger: Whenever a union begins to divide its own members by group characteristics, that union has come near to losing the right to bargain collectively.

Selective leadership can lead to selective bargaining, and that is perilously close to the divide and conquer policies of what we would like to believe is a bygone age. Yet we find some unions virtually cutting their own throats by engaging in deliberate discrimination within their ranks, or by forcing employers to discriminate, or by sitting on their hands while employers introduce discriminatory practices. The stakes which trade unions have in wiping out discrimination are certainly as great as those of management.

Discrimination Leaves Its Victims Terribly Scarred

Finally, of course, is the devastating effect discrimination has on the people who are its recipients. It is a common belief that members of minority groups, when given employment opportunities, will tend to work harder than others because they want to show what good work their group can do. But this claim remains to be proven at *all* levels of educational achievement.

Actually, there is some evidence which points to the fact that at certain levels the worker who is the victim of discrimination tends to lose some concentration from the work and to worry more about the acts of discrimination against him, thus resulting in productivity well below the individual optimum contribution. Another major effect on the people discriminated against is that they gradually lose the incentive to advance, tend to let their unused skills grow rusty, and in effect, bury themselves alive in the small and restricted place which has been cut out for them on the job. Ambition is disintegrated, and this important segment of a worker's life is reduced to a mechanical state of being.

The Economic Loss Is $30 Billion

The cost of discrimination is as great economically as it is psychologically.

If you take into account the amount of purchasing power which is denied minority groups by low wages sometimes on work where machines could do the work even cheaper, if you add the possible contribution to society by workers of minority groups who could move into high-paying vocations where there are manpower shortages—such as medicine, chemistry, engineering and so on, if you add the costs of crime, delinquency, and social maladjustment which can be traced directly to discrimination and prejudice, and if finally, you add the costs of segregation which are the direct result of discriminatory practices, you'll find on calculation—as I mentioned earlier—that this discrimination comes to roughly $10 out of every $75 paycheck, or in total dollar terms, $30 billion lost every year.

This is a pretty big market loss each year for American business. It is obvious, too, that we are some $30 billion short in failing to give these people the economic security we constantly preach that people are entitled to under our economic system.

The Loss in Tax Revenues Is Also Tremendous

This $30 billion also constitutes a major loss in prospective tax revenue for the government of this country. Let me illustrate the significance of the tax loss in industrial discrimination alone. An added $30 billion in national income would bring in some $3.3 billion more in taxes.

But this is not the only cost to government. There are at least two other costs which we have to pay. One is the cost to local government to maintain community services in the areas in which these discriminated-against groups live. Studies by the Newark Housing Authority, Carnegie Foundation, and facts furnished by the Tax Foundation and other students in municipal affairs reveal that expenditures in minority group areas are nearly 2½ times greater than in non-minority group areas. When figured out, this represents a cost of from $1.15 to $2 billion annually to the local taxpayers of this country.

In addition, there is the cost of segregation, of duplicating facilities which might normally not need duplication. The heaviest incidence here, of course, falls in the South, where segregation is practiced most extensively. Segregation, however, also takes place in many forms in Northern regions as well. The cost of segregation is the most difficult part of the cost to estimate. The range of items has extended from school buildings and teaching staffs to rest rooms, parks, and other facilities. The cost of all this duplication is certainly at least $1 billion annually and may well run to more than $5 billion—although this may be cut over the next few years if ways are found of implementing the anti-segregation ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court.

Discrimination Is a Blot on Our Democratic System

The economic implications of the added revenue and added national income which we might have were it not for discrimination are many indeed.

The really important points are two-fold: First, anything which stands in the way of our realizing our full economic potential can't for long be justified, and second, we can't say our system is really working well and our standard of living is attaining the peak it should, when we have literally millions upon millions of underprivileged men and women in our midst. Underprivileged because the most able among them can't rise to jobs as doctors, engineers and members of other professions, and because the least able among them—because

they can be hired cheap—are forced to do the work machines could do better, as, for instance, Southern sharecroppers.

Such facts make a mockery of our record achievements of attaining the highest national income and the highest gross national product in our history.

It seems obvious, even from a casual examination of the psychological and economic costs of discrimination in industry that the price is simply too high to pay. I think it is virtually impossible to really assess the extent of damage which is done by industry to itself. And while we have begun to make some small progress in overcoming this woeful blind spot, let's not kid ourselves—we've barely begun to root out discrimination in industry. Obviously much more must be done—by business, industrial and labor leaders—if we are to wipe out this blot upon our democratic system.

How Can We Combat This Disease?

From a realistic, practical standpoint, what are the actual possibilities of reducing or eliminating discrimination?

What methods of combating this mental and social disease offer hope of success?

Two war-time emergencies forced American industry to learn "the hard way" the folly of discriminatory practices. During World War II and again during the Korean police action, we faced a shortage of manpower in industry. Millions of people who had previously been barred from positions equivalent to their skill and ability, had to be hired to meet this shortage. Some were women, some Jews, some Negroes, some Puerto Ricans, some American Indians, some of other minority groups.

This forced hiring gave new impetus to the fight against discrimination. Under the pressure of absolutely needing manpower to get the job done, business and industry broke down time-worn barriers not simply as a "do-good" gesture but because the contribution of these people was vitally needed to insure the security of our country.

And many industrial concerns, once the barrier was broken down, have continued to hire their personnel entirely on the basis of merit. Their success in integrating minority groups and their economic gains as a result of adopting merit employment and promotion policies should be brought to the attention of the scores of businessmen who have not yet moved in this direction. In the National Conference

booklet "A Fair Chance for All Americans" for example, four business leaders tell how RCA, Spiegel's, International Harvester, and Carson Pirie Scott successfully put such a policy into action. This information, if brought to the attention of top management and top labor leaders across the country, might stimulate other industrial organizations to adopt similar policies.

President Eisenhower's order that there shall be no discrimination in employment by any firm awarded government contracts, and the efforts of the President's Committee on Government Contracts to carry out that mandate have further spurred a number of manufacturers to integrate minority groups into the work force.

Extension of the idea of Fair Employment Practices Commissions in our various states also offers another means of combatting discrimination in industry. Such commissions function fairly effectively in 16 of our fifty states, but obviously their activities must be enlarged. Two additional states have set up Commissions without legal powers to carry on educational programs on fair employment. And some 40 cities now have their own fair employment laws. All of these moves are of real assistance in combatting discrimination.

More important than the legislative or legal attacks on discrimination in industry, however, are the nonlegal, nongovernmental, educational approaches. In the long run, these must be decisive in ending the scourge of discrimination. Toward this end, a number of worthwhile techniques are available.

One technique is for industrial managements to conduct authoritative information sessions on the job in the plant. These ought to be held regularly for selected individuals who are important in setting the tone and actual practices within a plant. At present, a number of corporations hold sessions on fair employment practices, on merit promotion policies, and on human relations for all of their executive and supervisory staff but many more corporations should hold similar training sessions. Certainly, sessions such as these should be made mandatory for foremen in a much larger part of industry. This type of supervisory training could produce an awareness of discrimination which in many cases is all too lacking today.

The film showings, film forums, panel discussions, and institutes and seminars in human relations for both management and labor groups which organizations such as the National Urban League and the National Conference of Christians and Jews are prepared to give can also assist in implementing non-discriminatory policies.

Then a good deal of work needs to be done in learning how to handle ideas which are prejudiced and people who have deep-seated prejudices. Every social group has its own rumor-mongers and people who will spread false tales about minority groups for either malicious or psychopathic motives. Such people should be spotted and handled subtly but effectively. Social scientists, especially the psychologists, ought to work more on these problems, not so much in their isolated laboratories, but right on the firing line within industry itself. Minority group members need to be better informed as to their rights, just as industry must be better informed as to its legal obligations.

Finally, we need to have more industry backing for general campaigns of enlightenment and education which employ mass communication media and are carried out by government, semiprivate and private agencies. Every communications medium should be pressed into service. No channel should be ignored.

These are simply techniques, however, and obviously they don't mean a thing unless there is a basic desire on the part of management to integrate minority group members into their working force. I have already mentioned that Spiegel's management has enforced such a policy in its organization. So have RCA, International Harvester, Carson Pirie Scott and hundreds of other forward-looking companies. They have shown the way—and others must follow if they are to keep in step with the times.

The Days of Discrimination Are Numbered

If, in 1920, I had predicted that by 1950 the forty-hour week would be in effect in all major companies in the United States, many people would have labeled me a hopeless visionary. And there will be some today who will say I am dreaming when I predict that by 1980 industrial concerns will no longer even think in terms of race, religion or nationality when they hire or promote their employees.

The days of discrimination in this country are numbered. I believe our country has the get-up-and-go within itself not to be left stranded as a queer outpost of intolerance in a world which is one-third yellow, one-third brown and one-third white. I believe this from seeing first-hand some of the developments which have taken place in industry within the past few years. I think we have had the handwriting on the wall as far as discriminatory practices go.

I also believe, as an element of faith, that we will eliminate discrimination altogether in industry—and within the next few decades. We Americans are not a cruel people. We are free and easy and perhaps less inhibited than any other peoples on earth. I think that when our consciences and our practical senses are touched by the extravagant injustice of discrimination, we will reject that practice en masse, and pamphlets such as this will be relics of a less happy past.

But the end of such practices will not come automatically. It will take hard work and determined effort. The fact that a number of industrial concerns and labor unions have already established humane and practical non-discriminatory policies is most encouraging.

That's why I am confident that ending discrimination in business and industry will be one of the next great strides forward in American democracy.

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DENVER 2, COLO.
307 Denver Natl. Bldg.
821 - 17th Street
DES MOINES 9, IOWA
707 Empire Bldg.
DETROIT 2, MICH.
150 W. Boston Blvd.
DULUTH 2, MINN.
313 Bradley Bldg.
10 East Superior St.
EL PASO, TEX.
614 E. Yandell Blvd.
FORT WORTH 2, TEX.
214 Danciger Bldg.
Fifth & Throckmorton
GREENSBORO, N. C.
910 Southeastern Bldg.
HARTFORD 3, CONN.
983 Main Street
HOUSTON 2, TEX.
1110 Scanlan Bldg.
INDIANAPOLIS 4, IND.
108 E. Washington St.
Room 1501
JAMAICA 33, N. Y.
92-32 Union Hall St.
KANSAS CITY, MO.
916 Walnut St.
KNOXVILLE, TENN.
P.O. Box 685
LAS VEGAS, NEV.
United Fund Bldg.
1622 South A Street
LOS ANGELES 5, CALIF.
Suite 202
3335 Wilshire Blvd.
LOUISVILLE 2, KY.
501 Republic Bldg.
MEMPHIS 3, TENN.
414-15 Com. Title Bldg.
MIAMI 32, FLA.
305 Calumet Bldg.
10 N.E. Third Ave.
MILWAUKEE 2, WISC.
759 N. Milwaukee St.
Room 419
MINNEAPOLIS 2, MINN.
520 National Bldg.
NEWARK 2, N. J.
790 Broad Street
NEW ORLEANS 12, LA.
610 International Bldg.
611 Gravier St.
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.
43 West 57th St.
NORFOLK, VA.
269 Boush St.
OKLA. CITY 2, OKLA.
310 Com. Exch. Bldg.
OMAHA 2, NEB.
848 Insurance Bldg.
PHILA. 7, PA.
1211 Chestnut St.
PHOENIX 4, ARIZ.
624 Luhrs Bldg.
PITTSBURGH 22, PA.
1307 Keenan Bldg.
PORTLAND 5, ORE.
729 S.W. Alder St.
PROVIDENCE 6, R. I.
92 Benevolent Street
RICHMOND 30, VA.
203 Westwood Bldg.
2317 Westwood Ave.
SAN ANTONIO 5, TEX.
632 Three A Life Bldg.
118 Broadway
SAN FRANCISCO 3, CALIF.
Suite 815
Central Tower
703 Market Street
SEATTLE 1, WASH.
701 Seaboard Bldg.
SOUTH BEND 1, IND.
128 Franklin Place
ST. LOUIS 1, MO.
1615 Chemical Bldg.
TUCSON, ARIZ.
2819 E. Beverly Drive
TULSA 3, OKLA.
515 S. Denver
UPPER NEW YORK STATE
43 West 57th St.
New York 19, N. Y.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.
735 Southern Bldg.
1425 H St., N.W.
WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.
175 Main Street
WICHITA 2, KAN.
257 No. B'way.
Suite 104
WICHITA FALLS, TEX.
718 10th St.
WILKES-BARRE, PA.
28 Rose St.
Forty Fort, Pa.
WILLIAMSPORT, PA.
R.D. #2
Montoursville, Pa.
WILMINGTON, DEL.
1011 Washington St.

CANADIAN COUNCIL OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS
506-508 Ryrie Bldg., 229 Yonge St., Toronto, Canada

WHAT IS THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS?

NCCJ is a civic organization engaged in a nation-wide program of intergroup education. It enlists Protestants, Catholics and Jews who without compromise of conscience or of their distinctive and important religious differences work together to build better relationships among men of all religions, races and nationalities. Its operation is civic and social although, obviously, the roots of the brotherhood which it seeks to build are in the moral law and in religious faith.